

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-11 AID-05 ACDA-05 OMB-01

SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 DHA-02 SAM-01 NEA-10 SCCT-01 /102 W

----- 052883

O P 111130Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7675

INFO ALL OAU CAPITALS PRIORITY 011

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

USLO PEKING PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR OAU AO

SUBJ: OAU SUMMIT OPENS

REF: ADDIS ABABA 0284

SUMMARY: THE OAU SUMMIT ON ANGOLA OPENED JAN 11 WITH
OVER 17 HEADS OF STATE AND GOVT ATTENDING (LOCAL
MEDIA SAYS 22). ALL 46 OAU MEMBERS, HOWEVER, WERE
REPRESENTED. ETHIOPIA'S CHIEF OF STATE, BG TEFERI BANTE,
OPENED THE SESSION WITH A SHORT, INNOCUOUS STATEMENT
WISHING THE ASSEMBLY SUCCESS. PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL OF
MOZAMBIQUE, LONG AN MPLA SUPPORTER, ATTACKED SOUTH AFRICAN
AGGRESSION IN ANGOLA, NAMED UNITA AND THE FNLA AS "COLLABORATORS
WITH THE ENEMIES OF AFRICA" WHOME, THEREFORE, THE OAU COULD

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NOT SUPPORT, AND CALLED FOR OAU RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA
WHICH WAS FIGHTING SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION IN ANGOLA FOR

ALL OF AFRICA.

PRESIDENT SERETSE KHAMA OF BOTSWANA IN A MORE NEUTRAL STATEMENT, NOTED THAT AGGRESSION WAS BEING COMMITTED BY FOREIGN REGULAR AND IRREGULAR FORCES AGAINST ANGOLA, CONDEMNED THE CURRENT ANNIHILATION OF THE ANGOLA PEOPLE, PLEADED THAT AFRICA NOT BECOME A TESTING GROUND FOR MODERN WEAPONS AND CALLED UPON THE OAU TO SEEK A SOLUTION COLLECTIVELY TO END THE TRAGEDY OF ANGOLA. GENERAL KHALED HASSAN ABBAS OF SUDAN ALSO CALLED FOR EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO CHECK AGGRESSION IN ANGOLA, WITHOUT WHICH, HE WARNED, THE OAU MEMBERS, WOULD BE DEFEATING THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE OAU CHARTER.

PRESIDENT LEOPOLD SENGHOR OF SENEGAL THEN DELIVERED A STRONG SPEECH IN FAVOR OF "AFRICANESS, DEMOCRACY AND NON-ALIGNMENT" IN ANGOLA AND ASKED THE OAU TO ARRANGE A CONCILIATORY, "AFRICAN" COMPROMISE SOLUTION WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE ANGOLA PEOPLE TO DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT GOVT THEY WISHED TO HAVE RATHER THAN IMPOSING ONE UPON THEM FROM WITHOUT IN VIOLATION OF THE OAU'S CHARTER. AS HE WAS CLOSING THE SESSION, OAU CHAIRMAN IDI AMIN OF UGANDA INTRODUCED FNLA'S HOLDEN ROBERTO AND UNITA'S JONAS SAVIMBI, WHOM, HE SAID, "I INVITED ON YOUR BEHALF AND WHOM I CONSIDER EQUAL TO AGOSTINHO NETO (OF THE MPLA) UNTIL WE SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF ANGOLA." AMIN THEN REASSURED THE ASSEMBLY THAT ALL WOULD GO WELL BECAUSE "THE FIELD MARSHALL IS COMMANDING THE WHOLE BATTLE."

END SUMMARY

1. ETHIOPIA'S TEFERI BANTDOJS STATEMENT WAS SHORT AND INNOCUOUS. "IN THE LASTING INTEREST OF OUR CONTINENT AND GUIDED BY THE TRUE SPIRIT OF AFRICAN TRADITION OF CONSULTATION, CONCILIATION AND UNDERSTANDING, I AM SURE THAT WE CAN ARRIVE AT AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE (ANGOLAN) PROBLEM."

2. MOZAMBIQUE'S SAMORA MACHEL RECALLED THAT THE PAST YEAR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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HAD BEEN MARKED BY SEVERAL VICTORIES FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION, INCLUDING THE INDEPENDENCE OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, MOZAMBIQUE, THE COMORO ISLANDS AND ANGOLA. THESE WERE ALSO VICTORIES FOR "PROGRESSIVE MANKIND AS A WHOLE." MACHEL THEN PAID TRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO HAD HELPED TO WIDEN THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA, I.E., THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. POWERFUL ARMS, HE SAID, WERE USED BY THE ENEMIES OF AFRICA "THROUGH THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS" AND THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS MANAGED TO SURVIVE ONLY THROUGH THE SUPPORT OF THOSE WHO BACK COLONIALISM, "ESPECIALLY

RACIST SOUTH AFRICA, THE COUNTRY OF APARTHEID, THE AVOWED ENEMY OF AFRICAN PEOPLES." MACHEL WARNED THE ASSEMBLY NEVER TO TRUST THE WORD OF SOUTH AFRICA. IT WAS THE LOGIC OF APARTHEID, HE SAID, THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD INTERVENE DIRECTLY IN ANGOLA. IT WAS AFRICA'S DUTY, MACHEL CONTINUED, TO CONDEMN THIS (SOUTH AFRICAN) AGGRESSION AND ALL TRAITORS TO AFRICA WHO HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO THE ENEMIES OF AFRICA: COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM. THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE OAU, HE SAID, WAS TO COORDINATE THE EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE RACISTS FIGHTING IN ANGOLA. THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MPLA WILL CHASE THESE ENEMIES FROM THEIR COUNTRY. MACHEL THEN GAVE STRONG SUPPORT TO THE MPLA WHICH, HE SAID, HAS BEEN LEADING THE BATTLE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION AND IS THE ONLY ANGOLA MOVEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED BY OTHER STATES, AND WHICH HAS AN EMBLEM, A NATIONAL ANTHEM AND CONTROLS THE CAPITAL. MACHEL CONDEMNED THE OTHER TWO MOVEMENTS AS "PUPPETS OF SOUTH AFRICA" WHO HAVE OPENED THE DOOR IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA TO SOUTH AFRICAN INVADERS. TO TALK OF A GOVT OF NATIONAL UNITY WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THESE "PUPPET LEADERS" WHO HAVE LED SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, HE SAID, IS IMPOSSIBLE. THE OAU WOULD BE VIOLATING ITS OWN CHARTER IF IT INVITED "SOUTH AFRICAN AGENTS HERE." MACHEL CONCLUDED WITH ANOTHER CALL FOR THE OAU TO RECOGNIZE THE MPLA'S PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA. COMMENT: SEVERAL TIMES THROUGHOUT HIS STRONGLY PRO-MPLA SPEECH, MACHEL WAS INTERRUPTED BY APPLAUSE FROM SOME OF THE DELEGATES.

3. BOTSWANA'S SERETSE KHAMA DEPLORED THE LENGTH OF TIME IT TOOK TO BRING ABOUT THIS EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT BECAUSE THAT HAD GIVEN OUTSIDE INFLUENCES TIME TO ENTER THE
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PICTURE. THE NEW CONFLICT WHICH THE ANGOLA PEOPLE HAVE

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-11 AID-05 ACDA-05 OMB-01

SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 DHA-02 SAM-01 NEA-10 SCCT-01 /102 W

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O P 111130Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7676

INFO ALL OAU CAPITALS PRIORITY 012

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

OSLO PEKING PRIORITY 045

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ENTERED INTO, HE SAID, "THREATENS TO DIVIDE US ALL. AFRICAN UNITY, HOWEVER, CAN RIDE OUT THE STORM AGAIN." SERETSE KHAMA THEN NOTED THAT, AS INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES "WE ARE MEMBERS OF THE DYNAMIC, NON-ALIGNED NATIONS. THIS DISTINGUISHES US FROM THE SUPER POWERS." THE OAU CHARTER, HE SAID, STATES THAT ALL PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY. AFRICA MUST PROTECT ITSELF, ESPECIALLY WITH THE SPECTRE OF KOREA, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM BEFORE IT. AFRICA CANNOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BECOME THE TESTING GROUND FOR MODERN WEAPONS. THE USE OF MERCENARIES IS A SERIOUS THREAT TO PEACE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THE OAU MUST, THEREFORE, SEEK AN AFRICAN SOLUTION TO THIS AFRICAN PROBLEM. SERETSE KHAMA URGED THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE TO HEAL THEIR WOUNDS, BUT AS A UNITED NATION. THE OAU, HE CONCLUDED, MUST ACT TO ENABLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE WHAT GOVERNMENT THEY WANT.
COMMENT: SERETSE KHAMA LEFT THE PODIUM ACCOMPANIED BY MUCH APPLAUSE, ESPECIALLY FROM KENYA, ZAIRE AND UGANDA.

5. GENERAL KHALID OF SUDAN STATED THAT THE CONDEMNATION OF AGGRESSION IN ANGOLA ALONE WOULD NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM. EFFECTIVE MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN TO CHECK THAT AGGRESSION.
COMMENT: THERE WAS LITTLE SUBSTANCE IN KHALID'S SPEECH.

6. SENEGAL'S SENGHOR THEN SPOKE. THIS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION, HE BEGAN, WAS EVIDENCE OF THE GRAVE POLITICAL SITUATION IN

WHICH AFRICA FINDS ITSELF. "EVEN ONE OF OUR COLLEAGUES HAS PUBLICLY DECLARED THAT IF WE DON'T PUBLICLY RECOGNIZE THE MPLA, WE WILL DESTROY THE OAU. BUT NO, WE MUST FIND A SOLUTION IN WHICH THERE IS NEITHER VICTOR NOR LOSER." SENGHOR THEN ENUNCIATED THREE PRINCIPLES WHICH HE RECOMMENDED THAT THE OAU FOLLOW IN ITS DELIBERATIONS: AFRICANESS, DEMOCRACY AND NON-ALIGNMENT. AS FOR AFRICANESS, TO RECOGNIZE ONE MOVEMENT WITHOUT THE OTHER IS TO THINK LIKE "AN EURO-AMERICAN," THAT IS TO THINK THAT THINGS ARE EITHER "TRUE OR FALSE." THIS, HE SAID, COMES FROM THE AMERICAN SPIRIT OF CONFLICT AND CONFRONTATION. THE AFRICAN SPIRIT, HOWEVER, IS ONE OF PALAVER AND CONCILIATION. THIS IS A "FUSION, A SYMBIOSIS OF PARTIAL TRUTHS WHICH GO TOGETHER TO FORM TRUE TRUTH." EACH OF THE THREE PARTIES, SENGHOR STATED, HAS A PART OF THE TRUTH. "IF WE WANT INTEGRAL TRUTH, THEN WE MUST DRIVE THE THREE MOVEMENTS TOWARD DIALOGUE." AS FOR DEMOCRACY, THE PORTUGUESE HANDED SOVEREIGNTY TO ALL THREE GROUPS, NOT JUST THE MPLA. THE OAU MUST FOLLOW THE FURLE OF THE CHARTER AND REMMBER THAT AT THE 1975 SUMMIT IN KAMPALA, ALL THREE GROUPS WERE RECOGNIZED. TO EXCLUDE ONE IN FAVOR OF ANOTHER WOULD VIOLATE PREVIOUS OAU DECISIONS. INDEED, IT WOULD BE A MANIFEST INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER AFRICAN STATE. IT WOULD ALSO BE ENDORSING THE PRINCIPLE OF EXTENDING ONE'S BORDERS BY WAR. INSTEAD, SENGHOR PLEADED, THE OAU MUST ADVOCATE FREE ELECTIONS FOR THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE SO THAT THEY CAN CHOOSE FREELY THEIR TRUE REPRESENTATIVES. AS FOR NON-ALIGNMENT, SENGHOR CONTINUED, AFRICANS MUST THINK AND ACT FOR THEMSELVES. HE ADMITTED THAT, GIVEN HIS POSITION ON ANGOLA, SOME MIGHT TERM HIM A "US PUPPET." HE THEN NOTED HIS STAND IN FAVOR OF NORTH KOREA, NORTH VIETNAM AND THE PLO.

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THOSE WHO ARE TRULY NON-ALIGNED, HE SAID, SOMETIMES FAVOR THE AMERICAN POSITION, SOMETIMES THE SOVIET ONE. "WE ARE FOR NEITHER WEST OR EAST, BUT FOR A THIRD POSITION...WE HAVE ALWAYS CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICAN RACISM, BUT THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME A MOVEMENT HAS ESTABLISHED ALLIANCES WITH RACIST OR CONSERVATIVE FORCES" TO GAIN TIME. "LET US CONDEMN SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION," SENGHOR STATED, "BUT ALSO ALL EXTRA-AFRICAN INTERVENTION, BE IT EUROPEAN, AMERICAN OR ASIAN." HE THEN CALLED FOR A "DYNAMIC COMPROMISE UNDER THE THREE PRINCIPLES." SENGHOR CONCLUDED BY ASKING GHE DELEGATES TO THINK AND ACT FOR THEMSELVES AND TO REFUSE TO ADOPT EXTRA-AFRICAN IDEOLOGIES AND SOLUTIONS. THE TIME HAS COME, HE SAID, FOR A SECOND STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE AND TO REAFFIRM AFRICA'S POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT WITH ALL REPEAT ALL BLOCS. SENGHOR, TOO, WAS STRONGLY AND REPEATEDLY APPLAUDED.

6 THE SESSION CONCLUDED WITH CHAIRMAN AMIN INTRODUCING ROBERTO AND SAVIMBI WHO HE SAID HE HAD INVITED TO THE SESSION DESPITE SOME OBJECTIONS. HE STATED THAT AFRICANS MUST SPEAK

FOR AFRICA, THAT MODERN AFRICA MUST "USE ITS BRAINS" IF IT WANTS TO BE FREE. THEN, WITH HIS UNIFORMED CHEST ALMOST COMPLETELY COVERED WITH MEDALS AND DECORATIONS, AMIN TOLD THE ASSEMBLY THAT THE FIELD MARSHALL WAS FULLY IN CHARGE.

7. SUMMIT CONTINUES IN CLOSED SESSION JAN. 11.

8. COMMENT: THE OPENING SUMMIT SESSION POINTED UP THE DIVISIONS AMONG THE DELEGATES. THE MPLA SUPPORTERS WERE MORE VOCAL THAN THOSE SEEKING CONCILIATION. THEY DID NOT, HOWEVER, WIN THE DAY AND POST-SESSION DISCUSSIONS TENDED TO CENTER MORE AROUND THE REASONABLE STATEMENTS OF SERETSE KHAMA AND SENGHOR, ONE OF THE ORIGINAL OAU FOUNDERS, THEN THAT OF MACHEL. IF APPLAUSE IS AN INDICATOR, THE OFFICIAL DELEGATES WERE EVENLY DIVIDED INTO TWO CAMPS.
HUMMEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, SUMMIT MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, MEETING VOTING RECORDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ADDIS00337
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760010-0174
From: ADDIS ABABA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760168/aaaacibr.tel
Line Count: 293
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 ADDIS ABABA 284
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <25 MAR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: OAU SUMMIT OPENS
TAGS: PFOR, PORG, AO, OAU, (BANTE, TEFER!)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006